/94 cont./

582 588 evident, a Catholic missionary married them according to the Catholic ritual. This act seemed a crime to the natives: that a Guajiro woman should be legally married to her maternal uncle was impossible to understand. Rumors and a kind of social vacuum began to surround the pair, and even threats, to the point that, seeing life was becoming impossible for them among their own people, they abandoned all they possessed and migrated to a distance, where there would be no Guajiro who knew their story, in order that they might not have to put up with the social situation which their illegal conduct toward their traditions had provoked.

582 The pure Guajiro is the one who preserves in its most extreme form the principles of exogamy among the different family groups. Mestizo men, educated and influenced by the kinship principles followed by whites, reduce the wideness of the scope of this prohibition against the marriage of individuals within the same clan and marry /95/ female first cousins in the maternal line, defying the natural revulsion of the Indians who still consider such unions incestuous.

835 We must note again that it is not rare for girls before puberty to cohabit with their own brothers (in the Guajiro sense) and with their father, naturally without pregnancy as a consequence, but with the loss of their virginity. Guajiro mythology contains a 1173 story of a girl who, having become pregnant by her own father, overcome by her physical condition and the social ostracism which her action had provoked, hanged herself, thus establishing this type of suicide as a means of a woman's doing away with herself when her wishes are opposed, especially in cases where she is obliged to marry a man whom she dislikes or in circumstances similar to those in the story.

These incestuous sexual relations are frequent in nearly every part of La Guajira. They happen when little girls go from one settlement to another carrying a message or to the woods in search of the pack animals or of fruit, at the same time that the boys are there looking after the livestock. Usually these relations cannot be considered as a violation, as the girls consent willingly, a state

/167 cont./

592 has some authority over them because, if during his absence some carelessness on /168/ the part of the mother causes the death of one of them, he can collect a compensation payment from his wife's maternal relatives. But at the present time, among mestizos and especially among those who contract Catholic marriages, the father's authority is immediately felt in accordance with the custom of our culture. He represents the home and the children before the other individuals of the social totality as was previously done by the uncle.

This authority has reference not only to the home and to the compliance with certain norms of courtesy, such as those of hospitality for example, but also to the decisive events in family life, such as the marriage of a son, the compensation payment for an offense, the purchase of a daughter, etc. His will is consulted, and the wife obeys it, even against the personal insistence of her mother; in other words, the mother loses authority and responsibility with regard to her children, who now use the father's name and with this the new ascribed kin relationship. /169/

XI

THE CLAN

614 On studying clan organization we wish to present it as it apparently must have functioned in the past and to show the changes it has undergone up to the present. To this end, we make use of mythology to clarify happenings in the remote past.

614 A story from Upper La Guajira runs as follows: "Not far
773 from Nazaret there is a hill lying behind Itojoro. There
539 Mareiwa was born under an olive tree. There he was found as a tiny infant, and he kept growing and growing as rapidly as

539 /169 cont./
614 an Indian. He ate tuuma and wore a Guajiro robe. His mother
793 was an old woman. There she had her home. The father was one Saramai who, it is also said, was a god. As Mareiwa was born under an olive tree, the tree never loses its green leaves during any summer. And when there is a storm the Indians take shelter beneath its branches because lightning cannot penetrate there.

"Mareiwa ordered that there should be an Indian girl whom they called Borunka who was the mother of all the Guajiro Indians. Mareiwa gave her a husband by whom she became pregnant, but when the time of her delivery arrived she was not able to give birth. She had already suffered three days of labor pains without birth taking place. The cause was that her genital organ had teeth. Mareiwa extracted them, and later he took from the husband two ribs, the lower ones from each side of his body, to place in Borunka so that she could give birth to children without difficulty, though not without pain.

"Since there is always some loss of blood when there is a childbirth, Mareiwa called together all the little birds: the one called Sangre de Toro /Bull's Blood/ or pincwait he ordered to go and bathe at the spot where the birth had taken place. Also /he called/ the troupial, the icó with black wings and a red breast and crest, and the macaws. The woodpecker arrived late at the bath. Mareiwa said to him: 'You came late but I will anoint your crest,' and he painted it. For this reason, all these birds have red patches.

"Borunka had several children, and thus the Guajiro went on multiplying. When they became numerous, Mareiwa returned and distributed among them seeds of watermelon, corn, and melon, all of which the Guajiro eat to this day. Until this /170/ time the Guajiro had not sown seed, but had collected only the wild fruits of the forest. Mareiwa brought together all the troupials and woodcocks /zancalargas/. A flock of these he sent far away, very far away, and there they

/170 cont./

539 614 773 ate prickly pear and iguarayas. He also called a flock of pigeons of the woods that brought cherries from Hepechi. Then Mareiwa dispersed these little birds all over La Guajira, who with their excrements showered seeds, which germinated in the earth, covering it with plants which bore fruit and served as food for the Indians.

"To each male Indian Mareiwa gave a pair of animals: goats, burros, cows, horses, and pigs. Then he brought them all together with their animals at a place called Arachi, near Siapana, (to the S. W. of Nazaret), and on a stone he engraved the marks he gave to each group of Indians, sons of Borunka. And even today the marks on that stone can be seen.

"There he formed the Epiayú, Ipuana, Uriana, Sapuana, Jayariyú, Apshana, Sijuana, Urariyú, Epinayú, Jitnú, Soriyú, Pausayú, Uriyú, Woriyú, Urenanaka, Matpishana, Uyarayú, Wariruyú, Jusayú, Woruboruyú, etc. Mareiwa gave them these marks so that the livestock of one would not be confused with those of another.

"Each group has an animal which distinguishes it from the others: These animals (the present-day totems) according to the creation myth were to have become Indians, but they ate the livestock that Mareiwa had distributed to each group and he, then, to punish them left them in their primitive condition as a symbol of the group they had offended. Thus, the royal turkey buzzard for example ate a cow /res/ belonging to the Epiayú so for this reason it became the symbol of that group. The caricari ate an Ipuana animal and so remained with them. The Uriana have the jaguer /as totem/ because it did the same. The Sapuana group have the bittern; the Jayariyú, the dog; the Apshana, the buzzard; the Sijuana, the wasp; the Urariyú, the rattlesnake; the Jitnú, the fox; the Soriyú have the cataneja; the Pausayú, the bee; the Uyarayú, the stag /Venado Cauquero/, etc."

Another story relates: "... as there was nothing on the Earth, Mareiwa said: 'What shall I do so that there may be something and so that I may then return to Heaven?'

/170 cont./

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"He then said to the birds, who were Indians at that time, 'Make your homes and your enramadas /bough-covered shelters/ as I am going to Heaven and I will return.' He went away then, and a few days later he was back again from Heaven. Heaven was then like the Earth today with similar trees and fruits. The birds, who were Indians, did not carry out the order of Mareiwa as they neither built houses nor enramadas. When he returned, Mareiwa found out that what they had built were nests in the trees. /171/ Mareiwa told them angrily: 'Turn into birds and be Indians no longer since you did not obey, and from this originated the different kinds of birds.

"After cursing the birds, Mareiwa took up a quantity of clay and began to make dolls like those that are made now at Jarara and various other kind. He sent for the cucarachero /in Colombia and Venezuela, a songbird which eats cockroaches. -- Ed./ to sing to the dolls while he was making them. The bird did so and in its song mentioned the color and kind of clay of which they were made. He later called for the woodpecker and said to him: 'Go and look for my grandfather,' and when he had come he ordered the bird: 'Name the clan of each one of these dolls.' He said: 'This is Apshana; this Epiayú: this Uriana, etc., etc., etc.' In payment for having named the clans so well, Mareiwa gave him a white necklace which he still wears. Finally, the bird said: 'The Ipuanas and Sapuanas will be allies in matters of putchi (war); the Epiayú with the Apshana.' 'Very good,' said Mareiwa.

"All the groups having been named, the clay dolls were converted into real men and women. Mareiwa then distributed the women and sites so that there should be no fighting afterward. Thus he said: 'You will live with your wife there; you here, etc.' Nowadays the men look for and take more women, but in those days Mareiwa gave each only one. These are latter-day customs. He put the Ipúana in Jarara, the Epinayú in Lower La Guajira, the Urariyú in the region of Nazaret, the Epiayú in the region of Puerto Estrella, and so on with all the rest who were distributed

/171 cont./
539 throughout La Guajira. Mareiwa spoke with them for the last
614 time to bid them farewell. Thus he spoke to them: 'That is
773 what I wanted, that you should live here. I am going away
now, but will continue to watch over you from Heaven.'"

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614 To better understand their mythology, it is essential to know the organization of La Guajira. Let us see this in brief.

The whole peninsula is divided among diverse groups having special characteristics, which have received in popular language the name of castas /"race," "breed"/. These castas are really clan groups whose most outstanding traits are the following:

1. Each one, as we were able to see in the preceding stories, has a totemic animal which serves to group together all the individuals belonging to the same clan. With respect to the totem animals we find the following:

Clan	Representative animal
Epiayú	Royal turkey buzzard /172/
Ipuana	Caricari
Uriana	Jaguar

Alfred Jhan[a] (1) adds for this same clan group the following

1. Alfred Jhan:[a] Los aborígenes del Occidente de Venezuela /The Natives of Western Venezuela/, p. 144.

totemic animals:

Uriana	Jaguar (Zone of Taroa and Bahía Honda)
"	Rabbit (Cruce coast of Maracaibo) /Las Cruces.--Ed./

[a] [25, should read Jahn. - Ann Hyatt]

[36 cont.]

*756 828 attacks which are considered as an apparent death, a separation of the soul from the body of the shaman in order that he may obtain a better communication with the spirit. These attacks take place frequently in the ordinary life of the shaman and appear especially when he is interrupted in his state of ecstasy or of illumination, in his moments of spiritual conversation, and suggest, in a certain way, an elation, a way of escaping from the [37] earthly life to inhabit for a few moments the world of the dead, which is his real world to which he belongs through the express decision of his protector spirits.

●773 539 The shaman in oral literature: Our colleague Licentiate Chaves collected in La Guajira a series of stories which were published in the Boletín de Arqueología, one of which refers to the shaman Umaralá. This story tells us that in "former times there were bad shamans who collected much and did not cure." (33) The one who changed this situation was Umaralá, making

33. Chaves. Op. cit., 321.

use of certain secrets for cures, accompanied by chants and shaking of the maraca. He was initiated into the magic arts by his aunt, who was a good shaman. His initiation coincided precisely with a relapse from an illness which he had contracted during a period of pestilence in La Guajira. The symptoms described in the story are the following: "He lost his power of speech, suffered continuous attacks, lost consciousness." His aunt dedicated herself to his care, and he "heard the arguments that his aunt sustained in her chants with the spirit of the dead, who was none other than Jirairai, who however criticized all the old shaman's chants. He clearly heard the spirit say: "Either you die or your son dies." (34) The shaman invoked the help

34. Chaves. Op. cit., 321-322.

of a new spirit, but in the end she died in order to save her nephew.

The latter, together with his bond servant, buried his aunt and complied with all the ceremonies pertaining to the dead,

[37 cont.]

●T73 539 until one night when he was weeping for his dead aunt, she appeared to him and said: "Go, my son, to the region of Jarara, take my cape and my maraca, visit the sick, and "shamanize" them, and only thus will you find the true path. But first you must change your name ... to that of Umaralá." (We see here another sign of apparent death, the change of name.) "The vision disappeared, and Umaralá felt obliged to obey what he had heard. He visited the sick, "shamanized" them, and drove away their sicknesses, and his fame as a great doctor ran throughout all La Guajira." (35)

35. Chaves. Op. cit., 322.

The story goes on to tell the amazing cures accomplished by Umaralá and in general the story of his life as a shaman until the moment of his death.

+T56 538 What interests us in this story is simply the proof in the oral legendary literature of La Guajira of what we have been expounding throughout this chapter, that is, the symptomatology of the vocation of shaman represented by special sicknesses — usually of a hysterical [38] type — in which are involved the loss of speech and consciousness; delirium, possibly feverish, accompanied by visions and attacks; the initiation by an old shaman familiar with the tasks of curing; the presence of a protector spirit who has complete mastery over the pupil and dominates his will completely; the presence likewise of the magic objects of the shaman; the maraca and certain items of dress, etc.; the total lack of free will on the part of the individual about becoming a shaman, a profession which makes him strictly subject to the wishes of the spirits whom he must obey blindly. We have only to remember the words of his aunt to Umaralá and especially the words of the story, "Umaralá felt obliged to obey what he had heard ..."; the fact that the protector spirit is generally that of a dead shaman who continues to exercise his functions, his true functions of curing, through an intermediary: the living shaman. In other words, the shaman is really converted into a benefactor, or better still into a true

[76 cont.]

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775 We can say that in La Guajira among the spirits of the dead there are categories determined by capacity to work evil. Spirits in general are indifferent as long as the established norms regarding their treatment are not violated, such as the fulfillment of the post-mortem ceremonial, avoidance of the use of [762] their names, etc. But when the spirit is that of a suicide, then his standing as an author of evil grows, as the fact of his having violated the established social order places him automatically at the margin of the community; he is a social outcast even in the world of the dead, and his spirit does not wander around as the others do but face downward and at ground level; for this reason he is considered an enemy of the community.

773 823 762 A Guajiro legend regarding Katétamána Hill relates that in remote times there was a majayura ("a young woman") who had sexual relations with her father and became pregnant. According to the legend, on finding herself in this condition, she was so ashamed that she wanted to wipe out her social sin by hanging herself, which she did. Mareiwa, the god of the Guajiro, told her that as punishment for her offense he would change her into a hill. For this reason, say the Indians, Katétamána Hill has the shape of a hanged woman. Ever since, concludes the story, Indians frequently hang themselves when any adverse event disturbs their lives.

762 775 As the legend transcribed above will indicate, an Indian commits suicide when he cannot carry out some act which is at variance with the established patterns of his family circle or of society in general. Since he cannot be punished for the violation when alive, he must pay the penalty after his death. It is his spirit which receives and feels the consequences of the social sin he has committed. For this reason the general belief to which we have already alluded exists that the spirit of the suicide always wanders face downward and at ground level in the regions of the dead. [77]

762 768 672 But if the punishment of the suicide cannot be inflicted on the individual himself while alive, it can, on the other hand, be

[98 cont.]

234 237 It is very interesting at this point to emphasize the fact that these hunting charms, in both cases, take the shape of the excrement of the animal that is to be hunted. We cannot allow to pass unnoticed this constantly recurring presence of excrement in the matter of magic. Let us recall the fact which we have frequently mentioned that for certain umbilical illnesses in children they apply excrement; that to call up their protector spirits the shaman use talismans that are shaped like goat excrement; and young Guajiro women bury their hair underneath patches of cow dung in order that they may be bought for wives at a good price.

These phenomena make us think of a very important function of excrement in the Indians' belief in magic, a function that [99] we know about only in its external aspects, but its application does not surprise us even though its explanation still appears obscure.

773 One has to remember that the guano of birds, according to Guajiro myths, was what favored the spread of seeds and populated the country with nourishing and useful plants for man and beast. One of our informants recounted this part of the Creation in the following manner: "Then Mareiwa brought together all the zancalargas (wading birds), troupials, and doves in a flock. He pointed out the far distance and told them to go in search, and there they ate of the iwaráya (fruit of the cardon) and prickly pear. He ordered them to bring the fruit of the cherry trees, and Mareiwa made it rain throughout all La Guajira. Each dove went about spreading his droppings, and where these fell there sprang up all the plants which both the wayú (Indian) and their animals could eat. So were propogated the cardon and cherry trees, and the earth was sown...."

751 726 579 Charms for war. This charm has the virtue of giving its owner complete bodily immunity in the fights which frequently arise between the various family groups. For this reason, before getting ready for combat, when on the way and in fear of a surprise attack, or when he goes to present a claim for compensation payment in the case of the violent death of one of the members of his clan, the Indian will rub himself all over with

[137 cont.]

536 to, always making their peculiar call. In this way they pass over
796 the place where the hammock men are in position; they are arranged two by two in a semicircle, hands held right in left, forming quadrilaterals. The birds reach this point running at the greatest speed possible, when the hammock men stop them by surrounding them to prevent their escape. They struggle, but in the end the semicircle begins to close until it becomes a circle, and the birds are imprisoned inside. An Indian then comes to kill the birds. He does so by taking them one by one by the arm as if this were the wing and by pretending to wring their necks. Once all the birds are taken out from the net the scene ends.

8. Jaguars and dogs. This theatrical game is intended to
[825] show the fortitude and courage of the jaguar and its superiority over dogs. For this reason it requires much care in the selection of the Indians who will take part in it because they must struggle fiercely with each other, and it is essential that the team that
[773] plays the part of jaguars be the conquerors. This has caused us to believe in the mythical value of the jaguar, which actually appears in their legends related to Mareiwa as well as in clan nomenclature. The game consists in engaging in a severe struggle in which the jaguar always manages to overcome the dogs and dominate them through being stronger. The complete description can be summed up thus: The group of jaguars pretends to be settled in a tree; sometimes they actually are. The group representing the dogs arrives, following the scent and the trail until they come to the foot of the tree [138] in which the jaguars are all lurking. On finding them, the dogs bark furiously beneath the tree and provoke the jaguars until they jump down, and it is then that the terrible struggle takes place. When in the end a dog falls to the ground, the jaguar pretends to bite it to pieces, clawing its breast open and attacking its throat, where he starts to devour it. The dog whimpers painfully, goes into convulsions, and stays motionless, as if dead. The jaguar gets up satisfied as he has triumphed, and so ends the play.

9. Dogs and peccaries. Two groups are formed, each one
[533] composed of ten men arranged in line and captained, as is custom-
[526] ary, by a singer, who is the chief of the group. One group represents the peccaries, the other the dogs which are going to hunt them.

536 [140 cont.]
796 moving along the ground. Headed by their leader they all continue to sing the song of the serpent, saying more or less the following: "I am the snake. I drag myself along the ground.
[539] I do harm to no one. But he who dares to step on me because I am on the ground gets his punishment. I bite him and wound him. At times I kill him. He has to stay in bed and suffer for a long time as a punishment for having trodden on me and for thinking that I am helpless because I drag myself along the ground...." This song is repeated several times. [141]

IX

Mareiwa and Wanurú

or

Notions of Good and Evil

771 Through all the preceding chapters we have tried to explain clearly what constitutes the magic life of the Guajiro, which is almost the same as saying his spiritual life, and in passing we have mentioned the presence and activities of beings with higher powers than ordinary mortals, able to do good or evil according to which being intervenes in each particular case. We have thus touched on two fundamental ideas: good and evil.

776 Our interest is now concentrated in trying to elucidate the
177 quality of these spirits, or supernatural beings. These can be very seriously confused owing particularly to the influence of acculturation and more specifically to the pressure exerted by missionaries in their prosletyzing function. So great is the misapplication of terms and concepts in this world of ideas that we might call the religious, that even the Guajiro mythology has been transformed by the use of terms which have a pejorative and
773 degrading effect on the Guajiro people (68).
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68. This statement is based on the legend which we obtained orally from

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an Indian of the Nazaret locality relating to Mareiwa and the origin of humanity, in which are presented the beginnings of the different groups of mankind: natives and foreigners. The legend states that Mareiwa created mankind and gathered them together, inviting them to a banquet. Those who complied with the forms of social etiquette (shaking hands respectfully, sitting in the right place, behaving with composure, eating according to civilized rules, using knives and forks, washing hands, etc., were turned into arĭjuna ("white," civilizado); those who misbehaved, who did not comply with these rituals of social etiquette, that is, those who showed they were Indians, were from that time classed as wayú ("Indians"). As can be seen, the Indian believes himself superior [sic] to the White because of these details of social etiquette, of which he is partially or totally ignorant. [142]

The problem arises from the fact that those two notions of good and evil, represented by two classes of spirits, benign and malignant, have been changed for the Catholic or general Christian concepts of God and devil, concepts which the native, coming more and more in contact with the Christian type of civilization has gradually come to accept in the process of his conversion to new ideas.

This affirmation is corroborated by various citations, taken from the writings of Catholic or Protestant missionaries as well as from those of travelers or of ethnologists who have been involved in the same confusion. To demonstrate the point we transcribe several such cases.

Father de Carcagente referring to the church at Manaure says: "The Indians say to God 'Have pity upon us.' They know

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776 773 2. According to data collected in the field among the people, the son of God (Mareiwa) exists. He was born from the union of the waves and the clouds in a place called Pulówi, in certain "sacred" lakes where human beings may not go, situated in the Sierra Nevada, where there are a number of both fresh- and salt-water lakes surrounded by medicinal plants. Mareiwa on occasion descends to these places, and it is at these times [824] that heavy rainfall occurs in La Guajira, that is, during the seasons which in the peninsula are called autumn, spring, and winter. Then all the vegetation sprouts, and all the trees, pasture, and plants are green.

3. Another legend states that Mareiwa was born of a woman who became pregnant when, being in her monthly period, she was greatly frightened by the spectacle of a tremendous storm. Without having sexual relations with any mortal, she afterward gave birth in the same way as other women.

4. Guajiro legends relating to Mareiwa also assert that he was born under an olive tree (77) in some place in La Guajira.

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77. The olive tree we refer to in these paragraphs is not the same as that of temperate zones but is an autochthonous tree, whose similarity to the former justifies its name.

The importance of this legend stems from the peculiar character of the tree, which is the only one belonging to the Guajiro flora that escapes the effects of long summers and is always fresh and green, keeping its leaves and bearing fruit throughout the year.

787 5. In his propitiation of the rains when summer lasts too 776 long, the shaman invokes his protector spirits, spirits of good, 821 and especially Fumayule, the name by which curers [curanderos] know Mareiwa.

776 6. In the work and paragraphs already quoted from the 821 work of Professor Hernández de Alba, we find a new relation between Mareiwa and rain; he says: "Mareigua. Everything that is good for the Guajiro: rain, abundance... and He saved

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

our hammocks to sleep. When I was a student, one of the stock questions asked by our professor of geography was: 'Why don't the Indians of Patagonia sleep in hammocks?' The correct answer was: 'The trees are too few and far between.' The Indians of Guajira took stakes with them which they drove into the hard ground when they made camp; but we could not give our animals such an extra burden and so had to sleep on the ground where there were ants and giant millipedes. Cactus bushes could suddenly come to life and a branch stretch towards one with spikes jutting, ready to sting, so good was their camouflage when sitting on a cactus.

We now met some very friendly Indians. As they sat by their fire they began telling myths and legends, and when they noticed that we were interested they continued. We learned that some blocks of stone that we would see the next morning and which had human shape, were really white people who had been petrified. They had died of thirst. Arijuna, the white ones, cannot stand thirst. The Indians can go three days without water, but the white man will endure only one. Therefore Mareiwa, the rain-spirit, said to the white people: 'You live for ever dying of thirst.'

We agreed with that.

We could hear the roar of surf. Calimaule, the old Bearded One, told us that the noise really came from wild cattle bellowing out there, having been hunted and finally driven out into the water where some were transformed into turtles, others into rocks.

'There are dangers, here,' the old man went on. 'There's a majayura, a maiden, lives in a cave in one rock, and lures men to their doom. No living person can enter the cave, but the siren—we can call her that—roams around in rich and beautiful clothes. (She shows similarities, like her Moorish counterpart, to our water- or wood-nymphs.) The majayura now and again emerges by day as well, shows herself to someone she likes, leads him astray and to her grotto, where she lets him taste of her mysteries. He is so enchanted by his experiences that he never returns. That

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Guajiro SC13

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is why many men have been found dead or have disappeared without trace. If anyone has managed to return having known all her mysteries, he says not a word, for to do so would mean certain death.

Majayura also drowns men. They see a white rock and approach it inquisitively. It seems to be not far away, yet it keeps withdrawing, enticing the men into the sea where they drown.

Then the Indians began to tell about the hills of the peninsula and how they came into being. There are many of them and the stories became involved, sometimes contradictory. Each area and perhaps each clan obviously had its own version. Let me here give only, and very briefly, the story of the brothers, the three most important tops: Jepitz, the woman's breast, that we could see blue in the distance; Ituhor away in Macuira that we had just left, and Camaichi at Cabo de la Vela. The Bearded One had a short version. He said:

'Once upon a time there were three brothers, Jepitz, Ituhor and Camaichi, who roamed Guajira. They stopped at different places which they never wished to leave and where they still are as hill tops. The first wanted to live by that beautifully shaped breast because he liked cactus figs so much; the second wanted to be at Ituhor because he loved toasted maize as his name shows, and the third wanted fish from the sea and stopped at Cabo de la Vela.'

One of the other Indians had a longer story about the three. Originally the brothers lived in western Guajira, near the river, where there was good grazing and maize could be grown. All three dreamed that they ought to go and roam. This worried them, because they were reluctant to leave their uncle for whom they had great respect and whose heirs they were. When they went to him and told him of their dream, he advised them to go, because dreams ought to be obeyed. So they went away and stayed for some time on the savannas of the central part of the peninsula. There Jepitz said to his brothers: 'Dear brothers, I have fallen in love with a girl here and shall stay with her for ever. Continue your journey.' The others went on and came

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

to Cabo de la Vela. There Camaichi said one day: 'I am sorry to part from you, my brother, but I have fallen in love with the sea and shall stay here for ever. Do you continue your journey.' The third brother travelled on and came to the uttermost edge of the peninsula, and there he settled and lived for the rest of his days, delighted by the fertile soil. (That is where there is running water.)

But when their lives were drawing to a close, they all dreamed the same dream at the same time. The great Mareiwa appeared to them and said: 'All must die and be transformed, but you shall be transformed into hill tops, as memorials to your love. You, Jepitz, for a woman; you, Camaichi, for the sea, and you, Ituhor, for the soil and its crops.'

Transformation into stone is a usual myth in the Andean civilizations and in nearby Sierra Nevada, and I thought it interesting to hear similar myths even here. Next came something that really made me prick my ears, for the old Bearded One now began to tell the story of the flood. The short tales he told were genuinely Indian.

In the olden days, he said, the sea was small and narrow like a lagoon. There lived a bird, a hen pelican, which laid an egg on the shore. Then came the first Indian. He was still young and dark-complexioned, being burned by the sun. He was curious when he saw the egg and asked the hen pelican what it was doing lying there. The pelican replied that the egg contained a secret that only she knew. The Indian had to be content with that and went to a dance. In the morning he again passed the egg, but then the pelican was not there. Seizing the chance, the Indian broke the egg to see what was inside. But the sea was enclosed in the egg and it at once spread all over the land so that only the tops of Jepitz and Ituhor rose above the water. The Indian and the pelican took refuge on Jepitz, and all the other animals on Ituhor. The pelican managed all right, because she could catch small fish by the shore. She was disgruntled, however, because her egg had been broken. She had shut the sea up there, so that she alone could enjoy the fish. The Indian found the space confined. He began peevishly throwing

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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773 stones into the water. The stones grew into cliffs and the sea had to withdraw gradually and the land became as it is now.

That then was the Guajiro version of the story of the flood. We know that it is based on reality. Apart from the subsidences and raisings of the land that have taken place there during the various geological periods, the whole lowland is flooded almost every year during the period of the rains.

In the myths men associate with all sorts of animals and speak with them. According to the primitive conception animals are people too, though of different tribes and with different languages.

The old man continued with the tale of events after the flood.

The dance the Indian had visited continued. There bat, hen, cock, vulture, woodpecker and other creatures met, danced and had a good time—all except the pelican which still grieved over the sea it had lost. During this dance the hen fell in love with the bat. Everyone at the dance became hungry, but there was nothing to eat. Only the woodpecker was well-fed. When the Indian asked him where he had managed to find anything edible, he replied that he had a little plot where he had sown cactus and he harvested and ate its fruits.

After a while the woodpecker became hungry again and left the company. The Indian sneaked after him and found the plot which the woodpecker had hidden away, yet had boasted of because he was drunk with much maize beer. The Indian took his sling and with it strewed ripe fruits all over the peninsula, so that cactus should grow everywhere for the benefit of all. There were a number of fruits left and he took these back to feed the dancers.

Towards morning the dancers began to complain that they had nothing to rest in after the exertions of the dance. There were not even trees with branches on which the birds could perch. The Indian went off again to see if he could find anything suitable. He came across a lame old man who was sitting making hammocks of bast. The Indian wanted

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to buy them, but the old man refused to sell. The Indian pretended to go away, but hid behind a cactus to see where the old man got the bast from. So he saw that the old man did not have agaves from which he could make bast, but that he took the fibres from his nose. At that the Indian rushed up, wrenched off the man's nose and flung its contents to east and west, so as to sow agave for everybody. When he looked round, the old man had been transformed into a tree-stump. The Indian returned with all the hammocks and the dancers were able to rest. 773

Here the Indian played the part of the civilizer bringing the others various benefits, to the discomfort of those who wished to keep everything for themselves. The old man who turned into a tree-stump would seem to have been a plant-demon, the spirit of the agave.

That was not quite the end of the tale of the first Indian.

That night the Indian saw that the bat was sleeping with the hen in the same hammock and he became angry, thinking them an ill-assorted pair. The bat is an ugly animal and so that the hen should not see him by daylight, he used to get up very early, when the cock crew, and go off. The Indian discovered this and persuaded the cock not to crow the next morning till it was light. Then the bat overslept and all the animals saw him and the hen together and jeered at them. The hen refused to have anything more to do with him. The next night the bat returned to avenge himself and bit the hen so many times that she was on the point of bleeding to death. Ever since her movements have been ungainly and she cannot dance nearly as well as the vulture.

The birds decided to hold a competition: who could sing first in the morning. The cock crowed earliest—the others having overslept. The Indian praised him and gave him the prize. In gratitude the cock presented him with two feathers from his tail. The Indians wear such feathers in their brow-bands when they are on journeys. They are good, because the cock is up early and a very alert bird. Then they drank a lot of maize beer.

There was silence for a while, as the audience pondered this tale. Then another old man began speaking and all

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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773 listened attentively, for he was very old and knew more than most.

'Arijuna, the white man, is made of earth and his wife of his rib, you say that yourselves. But we, *aya*, the Indians, originated differently. When the first spirit divided the earth among his descendants he gave Guajira to a daughter, but forgot that the sea washed over half the peninsula. When he noticed his mistake, he made the land raise itself out of the water, whereupon his daughter married Mensch, Time, he who has always existed. Their daughter married Para, the Sea, and by him she had two children, a boy Juyap, the Rain Season, and a girl, Igua, the Spring. And hear now what happened: Spring married the Trade Wind, Jepirech, and from them came the Guajiro. Therefore Juyap, the Rain Season, is the esteemed uncle of all Guajiro.'

We continued our journey. Nearer Venezuela we came to a regular park landscape with cactus trees. The lakes marked on our map had dried up entirely, as was to be expected at the height of the drought. We decided to make for a place called Paraguaipoa, where there was supposed to be a fort and a Venezuelan garrison. The animals were very tired and our progress slow. Then a grove of palms appeared in the distance, real coconut palms; it was fantastic! It was evidently Paraguaipoa. The sight of the waving green crests seemed to revive our animals, but the pack donkeys' heads still drooped. We left the caravan under command of Gladrvet and rode on ahead towards the palms.

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171 231 422 around the world simultaneously with the domestic animals themselves.

614 212 231 422 177 The branding described was probably learned by the Indians from the Spaniards themselves, simultaneously with the adoption of the first European domestic animals, and has been retained since then. It is all the more surprising that the branding iron (hierro) appears in an old myth which for its part clearly states where the customary individual clan-signs came from. The following version (according to V. Gutiérrez, p. 168) is common in the northern part of the peninsula:

Not far from Nazareth (10) a hill rises behind Itojoro.

[797] [131] 10. This post lies only several kilometers south of Puerto Estrella and is actually a small Catholic mission station. Cf. Stutzer, pp. 131 ff., and Barranquilla, pp. 151 ff.

Here, under an oil tree, Mareiwa (11) came into the world.

996 114 11. That is the spelling of this mythological name that I felt to be correct, as did V. Gutiérrez (p. 168). Chaves (1946, p. 307) explains in the myth concerning "Las Serranías de la Guajira," among other things: "Mareigua [is] one of the principal deities of the Guajiro people, who with his supernatural power converts persons into hills, separates the

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sea from the land and the planting of trees and animals to benefit man" /translated from the Spanish/. The original figure of Mareiwa is probably that of a culture-hero. Chaves (1953, p. 183) makes the same assumption, but adds that this personality is "at the present time like God for many mestizos" /translated from the Spanish/. Jahn (p. 183) declares "that the Spanish have identified /Maleiwa/ with the true God or Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. In Torrano (p. 188) one reads "Maréigua = God, Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. Unfortunately even today it is still true that the "Goajiro religion is imperfectly known" /cited in English/ (Armstrong-Métraux, p. 382).

614 He was found as an infant, who grew rapidly like any Indian
812 child. He ate tuuma (12) and dressed like the Guajiro.
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[262]

12. It was identified for me as tuna, which is the fruit of the Opuntia (Indian fig) and very well-known in South America. Cf. Vegamian, p. 214.

The mother was an old woman; her hut stood in the north. The father, a certain Saramai, was also said to be a god.
[824 827] Because Mareiwa was born under an oil tree, this tree does

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614 212 773 824 821 not lose its green leaves, even in the dry season. The Indians seek shelter under its branches during storms, because lightning will not strike there.

/538/ Mareiwa created an Indian woman named Borunka; she became the mother of all the Guajiro people (13).

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13. Chaves (1953, p. 181) reports another myth of the "Origen de los Guajiros," in which, however, the totem clans are not mentioned; therefore, no contradiction of the myth presented here can be brought forward from there.

He also gave her a companion, by whom she became pregnant. When the time of her delivery came, however, she felt incapable of giving birth. The pains lasted for three days without delivery. Her vagina was set with teeth. Mareiwa removed them. At the same time he took two ribs, the lowest one from each side, from her mate. He inserted them in Borunka so that she could later give birth without hindrance, though not without pain.

614 212 773 825 844 Since loss of blood was connected with delivery since then, Mareiwa summoned all the birds. He commanded the sangre de toro, or pincwait, to wash itself where the birth took place. He gave the same order to the troupials (weaver birds of the family Icteridae), as well as to the icó [ishu, Phoenicotraupis rubra] with the black wings, whose breast feathers and head-tuft are red in color, and finally to the macaws. The woodpecker [Ceophloeus lineatus] arrived late for this bath. Mareiwa said to him, "You came late, to be sure, but I shall paint your tuft anyway," and he painted it red. Thus, the birds mentioned have red spots in their plumage.

614 212 773 Borunka bore several children, and the Guajiro proceeded to multiply. When there were many of them, Mareiwa

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614 212 773 [243] returned to them. He distributed among them the seeds of the watermelon (Citrullus vulgaris), maize (Zea), squash, and all the other vegetables with which the Guajiro nourish themselves. Until that time no Guajiro had laid out a seeded field; before that anyone who wished to eat had reached for the fruit that grew by itself. Mareiwa gathered all the

614 212 773 825 zancalargas (thin-legged grallatores) and weaver birds; he commanded a flock of them to go far away and feed on iguarãyas (cereals) and the fruit of the Indian fig (Opuntia). He likewise summoned a flock of rock pigeons; they brought hepechi cherries. Then he distributed the birds over all of Guajira. With their excrement they were to make the simultaneously eliminated seeds germinate; the latter were to grow and cover the whole land with a blanket of plants on which fruit would ripen and serve the people for food.

614 212 773 [231] Mareiwa handed over to each native man a pair of goats, donkeys, cattle, horses, and pigs. Then he assembled all the people with their animals in the district of Arachi near Siapana. There, on a cliff, he engraved the symbols, one of which he intended to assign to each of the family groups, the children of Borunka. They are still visible today on that cliff.

Thus he established there the sign-patterns for the Epiayú, Ipuana, Uriana, Sapuana, Jayariyú, Apshana, Sĩjuana, Urariyú, Epinayú, Jitnú, Soriyú, Pausayú, Uriyú, Woriyú, Urenanaka, Matpishana, Uyarayú, Wariruyú, Jusayú, Woruboruyú, and others. Mareiwa handed over these property [422] marks to the people in order that the movable property of one group would not be mistaken for that of the others.

614 212 773 825 422 Each group has its animal-sign by means of which it distinguishes its property from that of the other groups. This happened for the following reason: these animals were to have become Indians. But they ate the herds that Mareiwa had assigned to each group. As punishment he left them in their animal state as symbols of the individual groups which

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614 212 773 825 422 had been insulted or harmed by them. Thus, the leader of the black vultures /Coragyps atratus foetens/ had eaten a head of cattle of the Epiayú, and he therefore remained the symbol for this group. The caricari /Brazilian falcon/ devoured an animal of the Ipuana group. The Uriana people now have as their totem-animal the jaguar (Felis onca). The Sapuana group claims for itself the alcaraván /stone curlew/ (Burhinus bistriatus vocifer), the Jayariyú people the dog, the Apshana the kite, the Sijuana the wasp, the Urariyú the rattlesnake (Crotalus terrificius), the Jitnú people the fox (Canis azarae), the Soriyú people the cataneja (macaw, Ara), the Pausayú the black wasp, the Uyarayú the deer (Cervus alaphus), etc.

614 773 /539/ V. Gutiérrez (p. 170) then presents another myth. This describes how the individual totem-clans were assigned their names and definite districts of residence after a fateful, tragic scene of disobedience of the creatures against their creator took place. This report, too, emphatically brings out the fact that Mareiwa personally, by his will and authority, introduced a totemistic way of life for the first living beings in Guajira. The myth has the dramatic conclusion: "For the last time Mareiwa spoke with them [the totem groups] in order to take his leave. He therefore addressed them: It was my will that you should live here! I am leaving now; I shall be watching you from heaven."

614 101 The individual totem-districts with the thirty-four clan names are noted on the map (14).[1] The appropriate clan-

193 194 614 14. The spelling and pronunciation of the clan designations favored here by and large resemble the Spanish sounds. Young Indians today feel a marked uncertainty in using the correct Spanish names for individual totem-animals; even in the pronunciation of the Guajiro designations

[1] [see p.9.--Analyst]

/540 cont./

614 The continued influencing through a series of generations,
614 even though nevertheless brief, by Spanish culture and the
177 spirit of modern times has finally also altered the primitive
178 judgment and feeling of these Indians and has strengthened in
them the pride to assert themselves now as "enlightened."
It therefore need not be surprising that today they laugh in
the face of a foreign visitor when the latter poses his questions
as though he himself regarded a blood descent of the clan
members from their totem animal as established and factual.
[123] The above-mentioned Cacique Briscol (15) even whispered

15. This pure-blooded, intelligent, and experienced Indian refers several times to the clans of his Guajiro people in his well-written story.

disrespectfully in my ear: "You must not suppose that we
think of an animal when we present the totem as our ancestor.
Every ancestor was as human as we are; only at the very be-
ginning was he just like the totem that each clan has had
since then. Our forefathers respected their totem animal more
than we do today; they neither persecuted it nor ate its flesh.
Now the habits of our ancestors are disappearing among us,
one after another. There are now only sixteen independent
614 'castas'; their number was formerly double that." V. Gutiérrez
•173 herself agreed with Briscol's interpretation when she presented
114 the introductory words to another myth, "The Distribution
/541/ of the Clan Districts" (p. 170): Mareiwa "then told
the birds they were Indians" /translated from the Spanish/.
Such words make it clear: the myth knows no distinction be-
tween totem animal and Indian in their mode of being and
acting! Therefore one does not get anywhere in the analysis
of myths with a knife-sharp dialectic lacking any imagination.
614 Thus, I may indeed, along with the reporters from former
times up to our day, regard the social division of the Guajiro
people as properly totemistic in style. Two years ago (1959),

/541 cont./

614 Crist (p. 485) wrote: "The Indians of the Guajira are divided into various clans or blood groups, castas, each with its distinguishing totem representing the animal with whose traits, according to legend, the clan was originally imbued" /cited in English/.

614 The thought complex that has solidified around the
212 totem of our Indians — to mention it once more in conclusion — gets significant confirmation of its truely totemistic character by the visible symbol for each one of the three dozen of them. None of these totem signs — whether one calls them clan signs, symbols, monograms, emblems, property marks, or something else — is revealed as typically
[286] Christian or Spanish in design. The Indian women of olden times wove them into their pieces of weaving, and, as has already been mentioned above (p. 10), the men put their
[273] clan-signs on other objects. According to the myth, the original ancestor of a given clan was assigned it in an individual presentation by Mareiwa himself, and it has been retained down to the present day. /See the foreign text for the list of "Sources Mentioned," pp. 541-542./

/542/ Supplement:

114 As a consequence of a long stay in East Asia, which I
614 concluded a short time ago, two pertinent articles first came to my attention when the article presented here was already in printing:

[113] Santa Cruz, Antonio, "Acquiring Status in Guajiro Society," Anthropological Quarterly, 33, 1960, pp. 115-127.
Wilbert, Johannes, "Identificación Etno-Lingüística de Tribus Indígenas del Occidente de Venezuela," Mem. Soc. de Ciencias Natur. La Salle, 21, 1961, pp. 5-14.

Both articles refer to the clan-division among the Guajiro described by me. The almost completed printing of my article, however, does not permit me to discuss them in detail; therefore this brief reference must suffice.